

A Non-uniform Analysis of *ka*⁷ Constructions in Taiwan Southern Min^{*}

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*Ka*⁷ construction in Taiwan Southern Min is divided into referential and non-referential, according to the referentiality of the *ka*⁷ NP. At D-structure, the referential *ka*⁷ construction has *ka*⁷ as a head verb which subcategorizes for an NP and a passivized VP. In the non-referential *ka*⁷ construction, the phrase consisting of *ka*⁷ plus NP is an adjunct. This proposal is supported by considerable supporting evidence, i.e. the deletion of the *ka*⁷-phrase, the addition of an extra disposal marker, and the movement of the *ka*⁷ NP. The referential *ka*⁷ construction can be further divided into adversative and non-adversative, depending on whether *ka*⁷ takes VP or IP as its complement.

Key words: Taiwan Southern Min, *ka*⁷ construction, disposal construction, passive, adversative

1. Types of *ka*⁷ constructions in Taiwan Southern Min

According to Wang (1947:161), “the disposal form states how a person is handled, manipulated, or dealt with; how something is disposed of, or how an affair is conducted” (translation taken from Li 1974:200). In Taiwan Southern Min (TSM), the disposal construction is represented by the *ka*⁷ construction, as demonstrated in (1). The element (“person”, “thing”, or “affair” in Wang’s terms) of the disposal form refers to the NP introduced by *ka*⁷. To illustrate, in (1) the person that is hit is the *ka*⁷ NP, *gua*² ‘I’.

- (1) 伊 ka 我拍。
i¹ ka⁷ gua² pah⁴.¹
he KA I hit
‘He hit me.’

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¹ Romanization used in this paper for Taiwan Southern Min is according to the TLPA (Taiwan

As has been well discussed in the literature (Cheng & Tsao 1995:23, Hung 1995:8-10, Teng 1982:332-334, Tsao 2003:115), unlike *ba*³ in Mandarin Chinese, which mainly occurs in the disposal construction, *ka*⁷ in TSM can introduce a patient as in (2), a source as in (3), a benefactive as in (4), and a goal as in (5).

(2) Patient:

一隻虎呼，欲 *ka* 我食啦。
*ci*⁸ *ciah*⁴ *hoo*² *hoo*⁰, *beh*⁴ *ka*⁷ *gua*² *ciah*⁴ *la*⁰.
 one CL² tiger PRT want KA I eat PRT
 ‘A tiger would like to eat me.’ (From Hu & Wang 1998:10)

(3) Source:

我个花到底啥物人來 *ka* 我偷挽？
*gua*² *e*⁰ *hue*¹ *tau*³ *te*² *sia*² *mih*⁸ *lang*⁵ *lai*⁵ *ka*⁷ *gua*² *thau*¹ *ban*²?
 I ASSOC flower on-earth what person come KA I secretly pick
 ‘Who on earth secretly picked my flowers?’ (From Hu 2000:78)

(4) Benefactive:

無要緊，我 *ka* 你報復。
*bo*⁵ *iau*³ *kin*², *gua*² *ka*⁷ *li*² *po*³ *hok*⁸.
 never-mind I KA you revenge
 ‘Never mind. I’ll revenge for you.’ (From Hu 2000:86)

(5) Goal:

我來 *ka* 阿姆講。
*gua*² *lai*⁵ *ka*⁷ *a*¹ *m*² *kong*².
 I come KA aunt tell
 ‘I will tell Aunt.’ (From Hu 2000:26)

The disposal construction discussed in this paper refers to that involving a patient-introducing *ka*⁷ as in (1) and (2) and excludes those involving goal-, benefactive-, or source-introducing *ka*⁷ as in (3)-(5).

As shown in the examples above, the NP introduced by *ka*⁷ is often referential, such as *gua*² ‘I’ in (1)-(3), *li*² ‘you’ in (4), and *a*¹ *m*² ‘aunt’ in (5). However, *ka*⁷ is not always followed by a referential NP. As shown in (6)-(9), *ka*⁷ can be immediately

Language Phonetic Alphabet), which was promulgated by the Ministry of Education in Taiwan in 1998.

² Abbreviations used in this paper are listed below:

3SG: 3rd person singular, ADVS: adversative, ASP: aspect, ASSOC: associative, CL: classifier, PASS: passive, PRT: particle, RVC: resultative verbal complement.

followed by a verb, not a noun.

(6) Non-referential:

王仔去 ka 寫字佇便所。

Ong⁵-e⁰ khi³ ka⁷ sia² ji⁷ ti⁷ pian⁷soo⁷.³

Ong-e go KA write word at bathroom

‘Ong-e went to write words in the bathroom.’ (Based on Hu & Chen 1999a:26)

(7) Non-referential:

王仔就去 ka 偷竄站彼水缸啦！

Ong⁵-e⁰ to⁷ khi³ ka⁷ thau¹ bih⁴ tiam³ hit⁴ cui²kng¹ la⁰!⁴

Ong-e then go KA secretly hide at that water-vat PRT

‘Ong-e secretly hid in the water vat.’ (Based on Hu & Huang 1996:48)

(8) Non-referential:

王仔就 ka 跳落去。

Ong⁵-e⁰ to⁷ ka⁷ thiau³ lue³khi³.

Ong-e then KA jump down

‘Ong-e then jumped down.’

(9) Non-referential:

王仔就 ka 笑出來。

Ong⁵-e⁰ to⁷ ka⁷ chio³ chut⁴lai⁵.

Ong-e then KA laugh out

‘Ong-e then burst out laughing.’

Even though the pronoun *i*^l can be added after *ka*⁷ in (10)-(13), this added *i*^l is still non-referential because it does not have an antecedent either in the linguistic or situational context.

³ The subject of (6) is omitted in the original text, and Ong⁵-e⁰ is added here to make it a complete sentence. Throughout this paper the Chinese character 共 in the examples taken from the story books has been replaced by *ka*⁷ to be consistent with the examples made by the author in this paper. The reason why *ka*⁷ is not written with any Chinese character is that its source is unknown (Wei 1997:580).

⁴ The original sentence as it occurs in the story book has *i*^l ‘he/she’ as the subject. The subject has been changed to a proper noun Ong⁵-e⁰ to ensure its referentiality.

(10) Non-referential:

王仔去 ka 伊寫字佇便所。

Ong⁵-e⁰ khi³ ka⁷ i¹ sia² ji⁷ ti⁷ pian⁷soo⁷. (cf. (6))

Ong-e go KA 3SG write word at bathroom

‘Ong-e went to write words in the bathroom.’

(11) Non-referential:

王仔就去 ka 伊偷宓竈彼水缸啦！

Ong⁵-e⁰ to⁷ khi³ ka⁷ i¹ thau¹ bih⁴ tiam³ hit⁴ cui²kng¹ la⁰! (cf. (7))

Ong-e then go KA 3SG secretly hide at that water-vat PRT

‘Ong-e secretly hid in the water vat.’

(12) Non-referential:

王仔就 ka 伊跳落去。

Ong⁵-e⁰ to⁷ ka⁷ i¹ thiau³ lue³khi³. (cf. (8))

Ong-e then KA 3SG jump down

‘Ong-e then jumped down.’

(13) Non-referential:

王仔就 ka 伊笑出來。

Ong⁵-e⁰ to⁷ ka⁷ i¹ chio³ chut⁴lai⁵. (cf. (9))

Ong-e then KA 3SG laugh out

‘Ong-e then burst out laughing.’

If an antecedent can be identified in the linguistic or situational context, such a *ka*⁷ construction will not be considered non-referential. For instance, in (14) *i*¹ has *Li*²-*e*⁰ as its antecedent. Thus (14) is treated as a subtype of the referential disposal construction, i.e. adversative disposal construction, which will be further discussed in §3.

(14) 李仔講王仔竟然去 ka 伊寫字佇便所。

Li²-e⁰ kong² Ong⁵-e⁰ king³jian⁵ khi³ ka⁷ i¹ sia² ji⁷ ti⁷ pian⁷soo⁷.

Li-e say Ong-e unexpectedly go KA 3SG write word at bathroom

‘Li-e said that he unexpectedly experienced Ong-e’s writing words in the bathroom.’

Note that even in sentences where a potential antecedent is available as in (14), *i*¹ may still be non-referential. That is, (14) is ambiguous with referential and non-referential meanings. *Ka*⁷ constructions with referential and non-referential meanings are treated as different constructions in this paper. This paper aims to discuss the non-referential *ka*⁷ construction by comparing it with the typical *ka*⁷ construction, i.e. the disposal

construction given in (1). Even though *ka*⁷ sentences as in (3), (4), and (5) all involve a referential *ka*⁷ NP, source-, benefactive-, and goal-introducing *ka*⁷ constructions display different features as discussed in Tsao (2003:115-123), and thus they may involve structures different from that of the disposal construction.

A non-referential pronominal *i*¹ is not unique in *ka*⁷ constructions in TSM. Matthews et al. (2005:281) argue that the pronominal *i*¹ is non-referential in the unaccusative construction in Chaozhou dialects as demonstrated in (15), also part of the Southern Min dialect family.

- (15) tsaj hue k'e? i si k'uu.⁵ (Chaozhou)
 CL flower PASS 3SG die RVC
 'The flower has died.' (Matthews et al. 2005:268, ex. (3))

The same type of unaccusative construction in TSM as shown in (16) is also argued to involve the use of a non-referential pronominal *i*¹ by Lin (2011:2038).⁶

- (16) 彼蕊花予伊死去矣。
 hit⁴ lui² hue¹ hoo⁷ i¹ si²-khi³ a⁰. (TSM)
 that CL flower ADVS 3SG die-go PRT
 'The flower has died.' (Lin 2011:2038, ex. (15))

Before the structures of the *ka*⁷ constructions are discussed, further clarification regarding the definition of referential and non-referential *ka*⁷ constructions is in order. Long and short passives have been distinguished in Chinese depending on whether the agent phrase is present or not as shown in (17) and (18) (Huang 1999:425, Ting 1998:321). Huang (1999:459) further proposes that even though there are both long and short passives in Mandarin Chinese, TSM does not have short passives. Examples like (19) may appear to be short passives as the sentence seems to be agentless. Nevertheless, (19)

⁵ No tone marks are provided for the Chaozhou examples in Matthews et al. (2005).

⁶ Lien (2008) argues that the *i*¹ following the passive marker *hoo*⁷ as in (16) denotes the event expressed by the whole sentence in which it occurs. This proposal, however, is problematic. As discussed in Matthews et al. (2005:280-284) and Lin (2011:2041-2042), if *i*¹ were referential, it should be replaceable by other pronouns. However, this possibility is ruled out as shown in (i). Please refer to Matthews et al. (2005) and Lin (2011) for detailed discussion on the non-referentiality of *i*¹.

(i) *彼蕊花予我死去矣。
 *hit⁴ lui² hue¹ hoo⁷ gua² si²-khi³ a⁰.
 that CL flower ADVS I die-go PRT
 Intended meaning: 'The flower has died and this event has an adverse effect on me.'

is still understood to have a third person singular pronoun as the agent. The passive marker *hoo*⁷ in passives like (19) is actually a contraction of *hoo*⁷ plus *i*¹ ‘he/she’. That is, (19) is taken to be derived from (20).

(17) Long Passive:

張三被李四打了。

Zhang¹san¹ bei⁴ Li³si⁴ da³ le⁰. (Mandarin Chinese)

Zhangsan PASS Lisi hit ASP

‘Zhangsan was hit by Lisi.’

(18) Short Passive:

張三被打了。

Zhang¹san¹ bei⁴ da³ le⁰. (Mandarin Chinese)

Zhangsan PASS hit ASP

‘Zhangsan was hit.’

(19) Long Passive:

我予拍著矣。

gua² hoo⁷ phah⁴-tioh⁸ a^{0.7} (TSM)

I PASS hit-arrive ASP

‘I was hit [by him/her].’ (Huang 1999:459, ex. (64))

(20) Long Passive:

我予伊拍著矣。

gua² hoo⁷ i¹ phah⁴-tioh⁸ a⁰. (TSM)

I PASS 3SG hit-arrive ASP

‘I was hit by him/her.’ (Huang 1999:459, ex. (65))

Along the same line of argument, in a disposal construction such as (21), even though *ka*⁷ is not overtly followed by a patient phrase, (21) is still taken to be a referential disposal construction as it is understood to have a third person singular pronoun as the patient.

⁷ The original sentences from Huang (1999:459) have been modified according to the TLPA, the romanization system adopted in this paper.

(21) Referential:

我欲 *ka* 處罰。*gua*² *beh*⁴ *ka*⁷ *chu*²*huat*⁸.

I want KA punish

'I want to punish him.' (Based on Hu & Chen 1999b:126)

On the contrary, even with an overt pronoun after *ka*⁷, (10), (11), (12), and (13) are still considered non-referential *ka*⁷ constructions because the *i*¹ is non-referential, unlike the *i*¹ in (20). In a sense, its presence does not play any role and it is semantically empty. In short, the referentiality of the *ka*⁷ constructions as discussed in this paper is not determined by whether the patient phrase is present or not but by whether the patient phrase is referential or not.

The functions of *ka*⁷ can be summarized as in Figure 1. Those functions presented in solid lines are the focus of this paper.

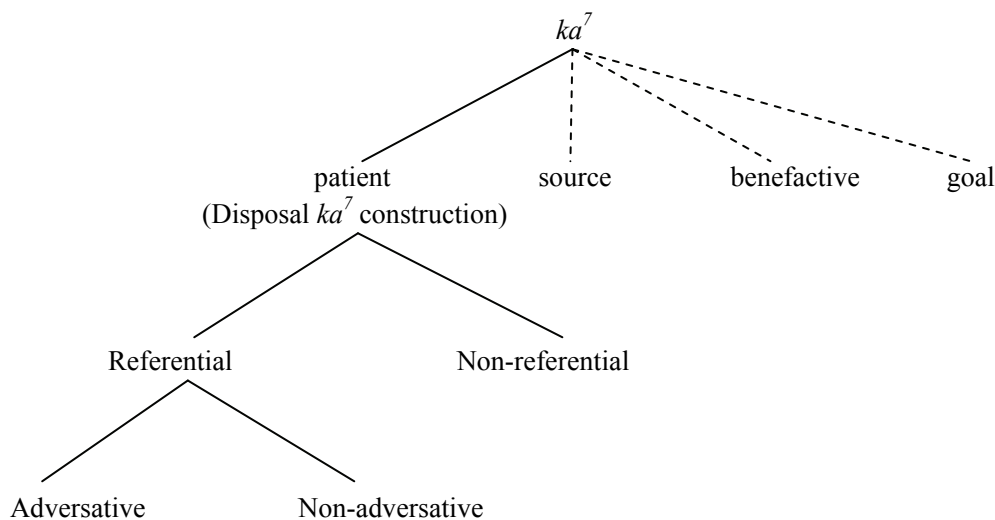


Figure 1: Functions of *ka*⁷

This paper is organized as follows. After the presentation of two types of *ka*⁷ constructions (referential and non-referential) in Taiwan Southern Min, a non-uniform analysis is proposed for these two types of *ka*⁷ constructions in §2. A special type of referential disposal construction—the adversative disposal construction is discussed in §3. Section 4 concludes this paper.

⁸ The original sentence as it occurs in the story book is without a subject. The subject *gua*² 'I' is added in (21) to make it a complete sentence.

2. A non-uniform analysis of referential and non-referential *ka*⁷ constructions in TSM

2.1 Proposal

2.1.1 The structure of the referential disposal construction in TSM

The referential disposal construction in TSM such as (22) is argued to have a D-structure as in (23).⁹ (23) is revised from (24), which is the D-structure proposed by Huang (1999:434) for a short passive such as (18) in Mandarin Chinese. The meaning denoted by a structure such as (24) is that a person/object undergoes a certain event. The meaning denoted by a disposal construction is that someone affects a person/object in the way that person/object undergoes a certain event. Since the two constructions differ in the presence/absence of the agent, the structure for the passive, (24), is modified as (23) to account for the presence of the agent in the disposal construction in TSM.¹⁰ (23)

⁹ pro, instead of PRO, is proposed in the structure for the referential disposal construction because that position can be filled by a lexical word when *ka*⁷ stays in situ to assign Case to it as in (32).

¹⁰ Even though the structure for the referential disposal construction in TSM is revised from a structure for the passive construction, the referential disposal construction in TSM is not argued to contain a passive construction as shown in (i), where a disposal construction contains a passive construction.

(i) *伊 ka 我予伊拍。
 *i¹ ka⁷ gua² hoo⁷ i¹ phah⁴.
 3SG KA I PASS 3SG hit
 Intended meaning: 'I was hit by him.'

Disposal and passive constructions in Chinese are often discussed together as they are regarded as two closely related constructions (Huang et al. 2009:154). Despite the similarities, the two constructions still differ in several aspects as discussed in Huang et al. (2009:154-162). One of the differences lies in that the disposal construction does not involve operator movement while the passive construction does. As such, as demonstrated in (ii) the disposal construction in Mandarin Chinese does not allow a resumptive pronoun, while the passive construction in (iii) does tolerate a resumptive pronoun. On the surface, it does not seem reasonable to revise the structure of the passive construction to form the structure of the disposal construction. However, it should be noted that it is the long passive that allows a resumptive pronoun. The passive construction that the current proposal is based on is the short passive, which does not involve operator movement and thus does not tolerate a resumptive pronoun as shown in (iv).

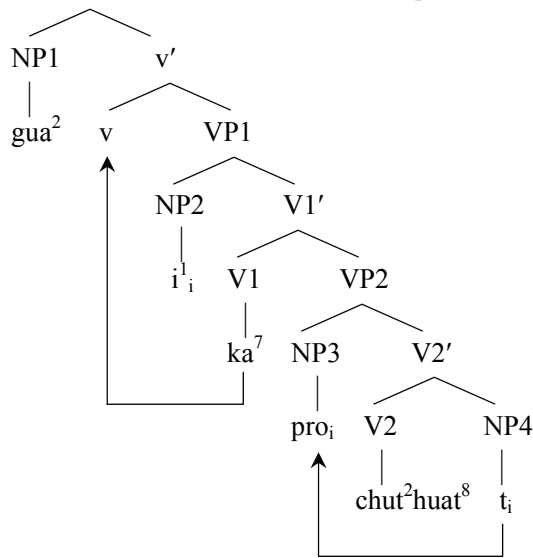
(ii) 李四把林一打了(*他)一下。
 Li³si⁴ ba³ Lin²yi¹ da³-le⁰ (*ta¹) yi¹-xia⁴.
 Lisi BA Linyi hit-ASP 3SG once
 'Lisi hit Linyi once.' (Huang et al. 2009:162, ex. (26))

differs from (24) in that an agent is projected in the former, but not in the latter.¹¹

(22) Referential:

我欲 *ka* 伊處罰。
 gua² beh⁴ ka⁷ i¹ chu²huat⁸.
 I want KA 3SG punish
 ‘I would want to punish him.’

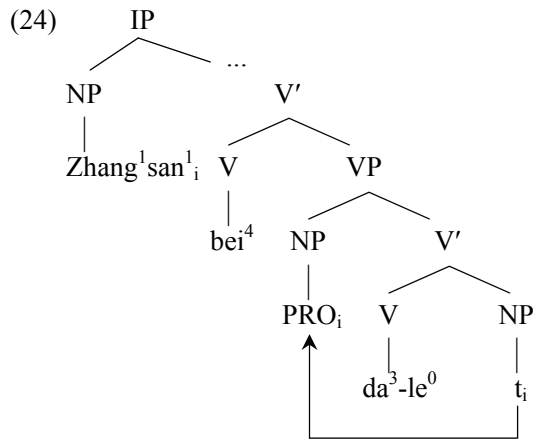
(23) vP (Referential Disposal Construction)



(iii) 李四被林一打了(他)一下。
 Li³si⁴ bei⁴ Lin²yi¹ da³-le⁰ (ta¹) yi¹-xia⁴.
 Lisi PASS Linyi hit-ASP 3SG once
 ‘Lisi was hit by Linyi once.’

(iv) 李四被打打了(*他)一下。
 Li³si⁴ bei⁴ da³-le⁰ (*ta¹) yi¹-xia⁴.
 Lisi PASS hit-ASP 3SG once
 ‘Lisi was hit once.’

¹¹ The two structures, (23) and (24), are indeed very similar. The difference in the head, the passive *hoo*⁷ or the disposal *ka*⁷, determines whether an external argument is projected.



(23) involves a passivized VP,¹² that is VP2 in this structure, and *ka*⁷ as a light verb denotes the meaning of ‘affect’ (Li 2006:412, Lin 2001:319, Yang 2006:147). Therefore, (23) semantically shows that the agent *gua*² ‘I’ affects the patient *i*¹ ‘he/she’ in a way that the patient undergoing an event is punished. The referential disposal construction such as (21) and (22) is derived from (23) via verb raising of *ka*⁷ to a higher vP shell and A-movement of *pro* from the object of *chu*²*huat*⁸ ‘punish’ to the VP-internal subject position. *Ka*⁷ moves to assign Case to the patient *i*¹. The *pro* in NP position moves because in a passivized VP, the passive verb cannot assign Case; the NP object cannot receive Case in the canonical object position and thus needs to move to the subject position. Under the assumption that Principle of Minimal Distance (Rosenbaum 1970:26, Chomsky 1980:33) should be observed, *pro* in (23) is controlled by the closest NP c-commanding it, that is *i*¹ ‘he/she’.¹³ Since *pro* refers to *i*¹ ‘he/she’, but not to *gua*² ‘I’, the one that is punished is *i*¹, not *gua*². D-structure (23) thus correctly represents the semantic relation in a referential disposal construction such as (22).¹⁴

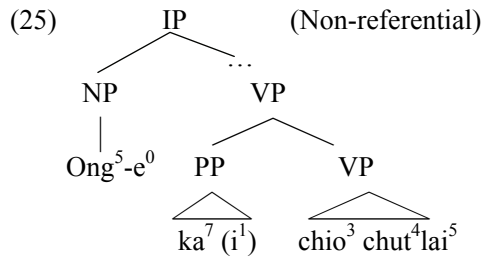
¹² A passivized VP is not the same as a passive construction. As discussed in fn.10, disposal constructions in TSM do not contain passive constructions.

¹³ (21) involves a covert pronoun *i*¹ after *ka*⁷; therefore, in the D-structure for (21), the covert *i*¹ is the closest NP c-commanding *pro*.

¹⁴ Following Li (2006:412) and Lin (2001:319), Yang (2006:147) also treats *ka*⁷ as a light verb denoting the meaning of ‘affect’ and proposes a null operator approach to account for the semantic relation in the referential disposal construction. However, his proposal is not without problems. One problem that was mentioned in Lin (2010:28-29) is that his proposal cannot account for disposal constructions involving the use of another disposal marker *ciong*¹ as shown in (30)-(32).

2.1.2 The structure of the non-referential *ka*⁷ construction in TSM

The non-referential *ka*⁷ construction given in (6)-(9) does not involve any empty pronoun such as NP-trace or null operator in the verb phrase, and the one affected by the event denoted by the verb phrase is not specified. Therefore, it is proposed to have a D-structure as in (25), where *ka*⁷ (*i*¹) is argued to form a prepositional phrase, which functions as an adjunct.¹⁵ Unlike the derivation of (22) from (23), the derivation of (9) from (25) involves no movement.



To sum up, non-referential *ka*⁷ is argued to differ from disposal *ka*⁷, and referential and non-referential *ka*⁷ constructions are proposed to derive from different structures. The arguments for such a non-uniform approach are presented in the following section.

2.2 Arguments for a non-uniform analysis of referential and non-referential *ka*⁷ constructions in TSM

2.2.1 Deletion of the *ka*⁷-phrase

*Ka*⁷ plus NP is taken to be a phrasal constituent functioning as an adjunct in the non-referential *ka*⁷ construction as depicted in structure (25). Being an adjunct means that it is optional. The current proposal thus predicts that *ka*⁷ plus NP can be optionally omitted in the non-referential *ka*⁷ construction, and this prediction is borne out as shown in (26). In the non-referential *ka*⁷ construction (26) even if *ka*⁷ *i*¹ is omitted, the sentence remains grammatical with no meaning difference.

- (26) 王仔就笑出來。
 Ong⁵-e⁰ to⁷ chio³ chut⁴lai⁵. (cf. (9), (13))
 Ong-e then laugh out
 ‘Ong-e then burst out laughing.’

¹⁵ A preposition often subcategorizes for an object; in (25) the non-referential *i*¹ serves as an expletive, taking the position of the prepositional object and carrying no theta role.

In contrast, *ka*⁷ plus NP is not a constituent in a referential disposal construction as shown in structure (23). Regarding the referential disposal construction, this proposal would predict that *ka*⁷ plus NP cannot be deleted without affecting the grammaticality or meaning of the original sentence. Again, this prediction is borne out as shown in (27). In the referential disposal construction (27) the deletion of the string of *ka*⁷ plus NP results in the ungrammaticality of the sentence. Even if (27) is not considered ungrammatical, (27) definitely carries a meaning different from that of (21) and (22), both of which contain *ka*⁷. That is, while it is clear that in both (21) and (22) the one to be punished is he/she, the patient in (27) is not specified and its referent has to be inferred from the context.

- (27) */? 我欲處罰。
 */? gua² beh⁴ chu²huat⁸. (cf. (21), (22))
 I want punish
 Intended meaning: 'I would want to punish him.'

In the context specified in (28) the one that is to be punished is understood to be you in answer (a). In the same context, answer (b) would not be a possible answer to Speaker A's question because with *ka*⁷ being used, the understood patient is definitely a third person singular pronoun, but this context requires the patient to be a second person singular pronoun.

- (28) Speaker A: 啥人欲 ka 我處罰?
 sann²-lang⁵ beh⁴ ka⁷ gua² chu²huat⁸?
 who want KA I punish
 'Who would want to punish me?'
 Speaker B: a. (是)我欲處罰。
 (si⁷) gua² beh⁴ chu²huat⁸.
 be I want punish
 'I would want to punish (you).'
 b. 我欲 ka 處罰。
 gua² beh⁴ ka⁷ chu²huat⁸.
 I want KA punish
 'I would want to punish him.'

The fact that the *ka*⁷-phrase can be deleted in the non-referential *ka*⁷ construction without altering its meaning or grammaticality as in (26) while such deletion is not tolerated in the referential disposal construction as in (27) thus proves that referential and non-referential *ka*⁷ constructions in TSM indeed have different structures.

2.2.2 Addition of an extra disposal marker

The referential disposal construction in TSM can occur in at least four patterns (Lin 2010:29-30). For example, (29) can have (30), (31), and (32) as its variant forms. That is, the other disposal marker *ciong*¹ can replace or co-occur with *ka*⁷, even though the use of *ciong*¹ often renders a rather formal meaning (Chappell 2000:277).¹⁶

- (29) 伊 ka 飯食去矣。
 i¹ ka⁷ png⁷ ciah⁸-khi³ a⁰.
 he KA meal eat-up ASP
 'He ate up the meal.'
- (30) 伊將飯食去矣。
 i¹ ciong¹ png⁷ ciah⁸-khi³ a⁰.
 he CIONG meal eat-up ASP
 'He ate up the meal.'
- (31) 伊將飯 ka 食去矣。
 i¹ ciong¹ png⁷ ka⁷ ciah⁸-khi³ a⁰.
 he CIONG meal KA eat-up ASP
 'He ate up the meal.'
- (32) 伊將飯 ka 伊食去矣。
 i¹ ciong¹ png⁷ ka⁷ i¹ ciah⁸-khi³ a⁰.
 he CIONG meal KA 3SG eat-up ASP
 'He ate up the meal.'

What is of interest here is that there can be two disposal markers in the referential

¹⁶ Even though *ciong*¹ may replace *ka*⁷ in cases such as (30), the distribution of *ciong*¹ is more restricted than that of *ka*⁷. As shown in (i) and (ii), *ciong*¹ cannot be used in (ii). The speculation is that like the disposal marker *ba*³ in Mandarin Chinese, *ciong*¹ occurs in a bounded event only (Liu 1997:64). Exactly in what context *ciong*¹ can occur still needs further investigation.

- (i) 伊 ka 我拍。
 i¹ ka⁷ gua² phah⁴.
 he KA I hit
 'He hit me.'
- (ii) *伊將我拍。
 *i¹ ciong¹ gua² phah⁴.
 he CIONG I hit
 Intended meaning: 'He hit me.'

disposal construction as in (32). The possibility of allowing an extra disposal marker in the referential disposal construction is well-captured in the current proposal. Take (23) to be the D-structure for (32); (32) can be derived from (23) in the following way. Instead of moving *ka*⁷ up to v, *ciong*¹ is inserted into the position v.¹⁷ Also the VP-internal subject position *pro* can be filled by an overt pronoun *i*¹, because staying in situ, *ka*⁷ occurs right next to *pro* and can thus assign Case, and the pronoun *i*¹ is co-indexed with the first patient phrase *png*⁷ ‘meal’.

In contrast, the non-referential *ka*⁷ construction disallows the use of the other disposal marker *ciong*¹ as shown in (33) and the use of an extra patient phrase as shown in (34).

(33) *王仔就將伊笑出來。

*Ong⁵-e⁰ to⁷ ciong¹ i¹ chio³ chut⁴lai⁵. (cf. (9), (13))

Ong-e then CIONG 3SG laugh out

Intended meaning: ‘Ong-e then burst out laughing.’

(34) *王仔就將伊 ka 伊笑出來。

*Ong⁵-e⁰ to⁷ ciong¹ i¹ ka⁷ i¹ chio³ chut⁴lai⁵. (cf. (9), (13))

Ong-e then CIONG 3SG KA 3SG laugh out

Intended meaning: ‘Ong-e then burst out laughing.’

The reason why *ciong*¹ cannot be used in the non-referential *ka*⁷ construction is that *ciong*¹ is only used as a disposal marker and thus can only occur in a construction denoting disposal. The non-referential *ka*⁷ construction does not involve an affected patient and thus is not compatible with *ciong*¹. On the other hand, *ka*⁷ is not always a disposal marker denoting ‘affect’ as in the case of the non-referential *ka*⁷ construction. The possibility of using the other disposal marker *ciong*¹ in the referential disposal construction but not in the non-referential *ka*⁷ construction thus provides further evidence for the proposal that *ka*⁷ in the non-referential *ka*⁷ construction differs from that in the referential disposal construction and thus referential and non-referential *ka*⁷ constructions in TSM have different structures.

2.2.3 Movement of the *ka*⁷ NP

In addition to the four patterns shown in (29)-(32), the referential disposal construction in TSM can occur in still another variant form as shown in (35). (35) is derived from (29) after the *ka*⁷ NP, *png*⁷ ‘meal’, is further preposed to the topic position.

¹⁷ As to the issue regarding when *ciong*¹ instead of *ka*⁷ should be used, the choice is a matter of register.

- (35) 飯，伊 *ka* 食去矣。
 png⁷, i¹ ka⁷ ciah⁸-khi³ a⁰. (cf. (29))
 meal 3SG KA eat-up ASP
 ‘He ate up the meal.’

The non-referential *ka*⁷ construction, however, does not allow the movement of the *ka*⁷ NP, since the *ka*⁷ NP is located in an adjunct phrase, and an NP-movement out of an adjunct island is not allowed. This prediction is again borne out as the ungrammatical sentence (36) demonstrates.

- (36) *伊，王仔就 *ka* 笑出來。
 *i¹, Ong⁵-e⁰ to⁷ ka⁷ chio³ chut⁴lai⁵. (cf. (9), (13))
 3SG Ong-e then KA laugh out
 Intended meaning: ‘Ong-e then burst out laughing.’

Another possible explanation for the ungrammaticality of (36) is that in the non-referential *ka*⁷ construction, *ka*⁷ is a preposition and thus it cannot be stranded.¹⁸

The above three arguments, i.e. the deletion of the *ka*⁷-phrase, the addition of an extra disposal marker, and the movement of the *ka*⁷ NP, thus offer evidence for the structural differences between referential and non-referential *ka*⁷ constructions in TSM. Despite these differences, the two constructions share the same *ka*⁷, as discussed in the following subsection.

2.3 Similarity between referential and non-referential *ka*⁷ constructions in TSM

The only similarity between referential and non-referential *ka*⁷ constructions in TSM is that *ka*⁷ can be followed by a covert NP *i*¹. The referential disposal construction (21) without an overt NP has the same meaning as (22) with an overt *i*¹; the non-referential

¹⁸ One reviewer suggests another possible explanation for the ungrammaticality of (36); a non-referential NP cannot be topicalized as shown in (i).

- (i) a. 我們喝他三天三夜吧！
 wo³men⁰ he¹ ta¹ san¹ tian¹ san¹ ye⁴ ba⁰!
 we drink 3SG three day three night PRT
 ‘Let’s drink for three days and three nights.’
 b. *他我們喝三天三夜吧！
 *ta¹ wo³men⁰ he¹ san¹ tian¹ san¹ ye⁴ ba⁰!
 3SG we drink three day three night PRT
 Intended meaning: ‘Let’s drink for three days and three nights.’

*ka*⁷ construction (9) without an overt NP has the same meaning as (13) with an overt *i*¹. The fact that the *ka*⁷ construction without an overt *ka*⁷ NP as in (9) and (21) is always understood to have the same meaning as one with an overt *i*¹ lends support to the speculation that there is always an NP following *ka*⁷, whether it is overt or not. In fact, some linguists also argue that in sentences like (9) and (21), *ka*⁷ is a fused form of *ka*⁷ + *i*¹ (Cheng & Tsao 1995:34, Tsao 2003:127). Moreover, when *ka*⁷ is not followed by an overt NP as in (9) and (21), this *ka*⁷ is actually pronounced with a glottal stop, which may be transcribed as *kah*⁴. This is another proof that when *ka*⁷ is not followed by an overt NP, it is actually followed by an *i*¹, which is fused with *ka*⁷ into *kah*⁴. It is just that in the referential disposal construction this *i*¹ is referential, while in the non-referential *ka*⁷ construction it is non-referential.

Now that the *ka*⁷ which is not followed by an overt NP is taken to be a fused form of *ka*⁷ plus *i*¹, some points need to be further clarified. That is, cases like (9) and (21), where *ka*⁷ was earlier claimed to be followed by a covert *i*¹, should be treated as involving an overt *i*¹, which is fused with *ka*⁷. For ease of discussion, however, when *ka*⁷ and *i*¹ are not separately pronounced as two syllables as in (9) and (21), instead of treating this *i*¹ as overt, this paper still refers to it as covert.

3. Adversative disposal constructions in TSM

Both passives and disposal constructions display so-called adversative forms. An adversative passive contains a subject which is not related to any position in the predicate at all, and this type of adversity is termed “adversity by exclusion” by Washio (1993:51). An instance of adversative passive in TSM is demonstrated in (37), where the subject *gua*² ‘I’ cannot be related to any position internal to the predicate *cau*²-*khi*³ ‘run-away’. An active counterpart of the adversative passive in (37) would be the disposal construction as in (38), where the *ka*⁷ NP, *gua*² ‘I’, is not related to any position in the predicate.

- (37) 我竟然予伊走去。
*gua*² *king*³*jian*⁵ *hoo*⁷ *i*¹ *cau*²-*khi*³.
 I unexpectedly PASS 3SG run-away
 ‘I unexpectedly experienced his running away.’
- (38) 伊竟然 ka 我走去。
*i*¹ *king*³*jian*⁵ *ka*⁷ *gua*² *cau*²-*khi*³.
 3SG unexpectedly KA I run-away
 ‘He unexpectedly ran away on me.’

A disposal construction like (38) seems to belong to the class of referential disposal construction because the *ka*⁷ NP is referential and the structure for the referential disposal construction given in (23) should be able to account for the derivation of (38). However, a closer examination of the structure for the referential disposal construction in (23) yields a negative result, because *cau*²-*khi*³ ‘run-away’ is not a transitive verb and thus does not allow a passivized form as required in structure (23). Indeed, the adversative disposal construction differs from the referential disposal construction discussed so far in this paper.¹⁹ In an ordinary non-adversative referential disposal construction like (22), the lower passivized verb *chu*²*huat*⁸ ‘punish’ is predicated of the *ka*⁷ NP, that is, *i*¹ ‘he/she’; however, in an adversative disposal construction like (38), the lower verb *cau*²-*khi*³ ‘run away’ is predicated of the matrix subject *i*¹ ‘he/she’.

To accommodate the adversative disposal construction, this paper follows Huang et al. (2009:148) in proposing that there are at least two *ka*⁷s, disposal and adversative, and the two *ka*⁷s take different types of complements, VP and IP. The non-adversative disposal *ka*⁷ as shown in (22) takes an affected NP and a VP as its complements, while the adversative *ka*⁷ as shown in (38) takes an affected NP and an IP as its complements. Moreover, Tsai (2007) discusses four types of adversative forms, which he names affective constructions. Regarding the adversative disposal construction such as (39), which is the Mandarin counterpart of (38), he argues that the external argument, i.e. *ta*¹ ‘he’, occupies a topic position rather than a subject position.²⁰ Adopting Tsai’s idea on this type of affective construction, this paper proposes (40) to be the structure for the adversative disposal construction such as (38). In (40), the lower VP *cau*²-*khi*³ is predicated of its subject *i*¹ ‘he/she’, which is merged to the object of *cau*²-*khi*³ ‘run-away’ and then moved up to the IP-internal subject position because *cau*²-*khi*³ as

¹⁹ The adversative construction may be considered a type of benefactive construction as in (4). Whether the benefactive construction has the same features and structures as the adversative construction as discussed in this paper still needs further research.

²⁰ Tsai (2007) provides the following test to prove that the external argument occupies a topic position rather than a subject position. In Chinese *mei*³ *ge*⁰ *ren*² ‘everyone’ but not *hen*³ *shao*³ *ren*² ‘few people’ can be topicalized. As shown by the contrast between (ia) and (ib), the external argument *mei*³ *ge*⁰ *ren*² ‘everyone’ should occupy the topic position.

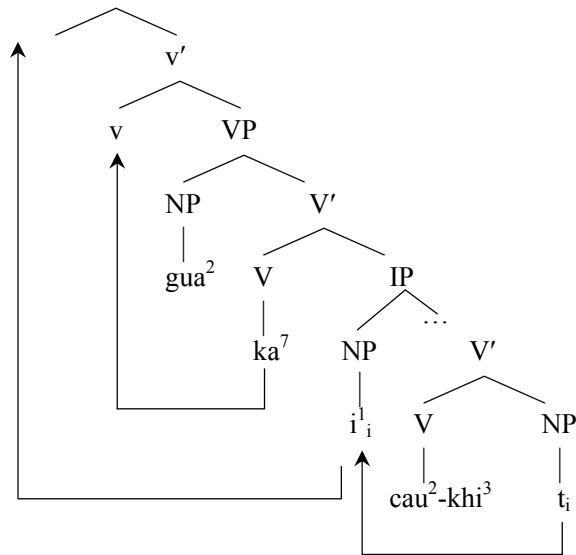
- (i) a. 每個人居然都給我跑了。
 *mei*³ *ge*⁰ *ren*² *ju*¹*ran*² *dou*¹ *gei*³ *wo*³ *pao*³-*le*⁰.
 every CL person unexpectedly all GEI I run-ASP
 ‘Every person ran away on me unexpectedly.’
 b. *很少人居然給我跑了。
 **hen*³ *shao*³ *ren*² *ju*¹*ran*² *gei*³ *wo*³ *pao*³-*le*⁰.
 very few person unexpectedly GEI I run-ASP
 Intended meaning: ‘Few people ran away on me unexpectedly.’

an unaccusative verb does not assign Case to its object. Subsequently, i^1 'he/she' moves up to the topic position in the surface structure and thus results in sentence (38).

(39) 他居然給我跑了。

ta¹ ju¹ran² gei³ wo³ pao³-le⁰.
 3SG unexpectedly GEI I run-ASP
 'He unexpectedly ran away on me.'

(40) vP (Adversative Disposal Construction)



In fact, if a referential affected NP is specified as in (41), where the affected NP is specified to be *gua*² 'I', (41) is then identified as an adversative referential disposal construction. As an adversative referential disposal construction, (41) does not allow the deletion of the *ka*⁷-phrase because the deletion as shown in (26) results in a sentence with a meaning different from that of (41); the meaning difference is that in (26) the affectee is not specified, while in (41) the affectee is clearly specified to be *gua*² 'I'.

(41) 王仔竟然就 ka 我笑出來。

Ong⁵-e⁰ king³jian⁵ to⁷ ka⁷ gua² chio³ chut⁴lai⁵. (cf. (9), (13))

Ong-e unexpectedly then KA I laugh out

'Ong-e then unexpectedly burst out laughing and this event affected me.'

Unlike the ordinary referential disposal construction as shown in (31), however, the adversative referential disposal construction does not allow the use of *ciong*¹ as

shown in (42) and (43); that is because *ciong*¹ can only be used as a disposal marker, not an adversative marker. Only the disposal *ka*⁷, not the adversative *ka*⁷, can co-occur with or be replaced by *ciong*¹. The movement of the *ka*⁷ NP to the topic position is also not allowed in the adversative disposal construction as shown in (44) and (45), because the topic position is already occupied by the preposed NP.

(42) *伊竟然將我走去。

*i¹ king³jian⁵ ciong¹ gua² cau²-khi³. (cf. (38))

3SG unexpectedly CIONG I run-away

Intended meaning: 'He unexpectedly ran away on me.'

(43) *王仔竟然就將我笑出來。

*Ong⁵-e⁰ king³jian⁵ to⁷ ciong¹ gua² chio³ chut⁴lai⁵. (cf. (41))

Ong-e unexpectedly then CIONG I laugh out

Intended meaning: 'Ong-e then unexpectedly burst out laughing and this event affected me.'

(44) *我，伊竟然 ka 走去。

*gua², i¹ king³jian⁵ ka⁷ cau²-khi³. (cf. (38))

I 3SG unexpectedly KA run-away

Intended meaning: 'He unexpectedly ran away on me.'

(45) *我，王仔竟然就 ka 笑出來。

*gua², Ong⁵-e⁰ king³jian⁵ to⁷ ka⁷ chio³ chut⁴lai⁵. (cf. (41))

I Ong-e unexpectedly then KA laugh out

Intended meaning: 'Ong-e then unexpectedly burst out laughing and this event affected me.'

To sum up, the referential disposal construction can be further divided into two types: ordinary non-adversative as in (22) and adversative as in (38). The difference between these two types lies in whether the *ka*⁷ takes a VP or an IP as its complement.

4. Concluding remarks

Among various constructions involving the use of *ka*⁷ in TSM, this paper mainly discusses the disposal construction involving the use of *ka*⁷ as a patient marker. Three arguments have been presented to distinguish the referential disposal construction from the non-referential *ka*⁷ construction. Moreover, the referential disposal construction can be further classified into two groups: non-adversative and adversative depending on whether *ka*⁷ takes a VP or an IP as its complement. As for the non-referential *ka*⁷ construction,

the adjunct phrase introduced by *ka*⁷ does not seem to carry any meaning.

The examples of referential and non-referential *ka*⁷ constructions provided in this paper as shown in (1), (6), (7), (8), and (9) seem to indicate that the difference between referential and non-referential *ka*⁷ constructions lies in the transitivity of the predicate. That is, transitive predicates as in (1) involve the referential disposal construction, while intransitive predicates as in (6) to (9) occur in the non-referential *ka*⁷ construction. However, as demonstrated by (38) and (41), the referential disposal construction does not always involve transitive predicates. In fact, the high correlation between the transitivity and the referentiality of the disposal construction results from the tendency of interpreting the *ka*⁷ NP as the patient when a transitive verb is not followed by a patient NP. For instance, *ka*⁷ in (46) is not followed by a patient NP and thus (46) involves the non-referential *ka*⁷ construction. However, in (47) when the transitive verb *ciah*⁴ ‘eat’ does not take a postverbal NP object, the *ka*⁷ NP is more likely to be interpreted as the patient NP, and thus (47) will be taken as a referential disposal construction.

(46) Non-referential:

彼隻雞欲 ka 食赫个米。

hit⁴ ciah⁴ ke¹ beh⁴ ka⁷ ciah⁴ hiah⁴ e⁰ bi².

that CL chicken want KA eat there ASSOC rice

‘That chicken would like to eat the rice over there.’

(47) Referential:

彼隻雞欲 ka 食。

hit⁴ ciah⁴ ke¹ beh⁴ ka⁷ ciah⁴.

that CL chicken want KA eat

‘That chicken would like to eat it.’

As has been well discussed in the literature (Cheng & Tsao 1995:23, Hung 1995: 8-10, Teng 1982:332-334, Tsao 2003:115), the word *ka*⁷ can be used to introduce patient, source, benefactive, and goal. In addition to these four usages, maybe one more can be added to the usages of *ka*⁷, that is, its function in the non-referential *ka*⁷ construction. Even though nothing is clear about exactly what role it plays in the non-referential *ka*⁷ construction, it is certain that *ka*⁷ in the non-referential *ka*⁷ construction does not have any of the four usages introduced above.

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台灣閩南語 ka^7 字句非一致性的分析

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台灣閩南語的 ka^7 字句可依 ka^7 名詞組的可指性分為兩類：有指與無指。有指 ka^7 字句的結構為以 ka^7 字為主要動詞，並次類劃分名詞組與被動形式動詞組。無指 ka^7 字句的結構中， ka^7 字與名詞組則形成一附加語。本提案的證據來自考量是否可刪除 ka^7 詞組、增加額外處置標誌、及移動 ka^7 名詞組。有指 ka^7 字句並可依據 ka^7 字後接的補語（動詞組或句子）進一步分為受害與非受害兩類。

關鍵詞：台灣閩南語， ka^7 字句，處置式，被動式，受害結構